

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 202520

EXDIS MILITARY ADDEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 202520 ACTION BONN THE HAGUE LONDON

PARIS INFO LISBON EC BRUSSELS NATO SECRETARY 26 AUG

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 202520 TOSEC 100164

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SREF, EAID, PO, FR, N., GW, AO, UK

SUBJECT: PORTUGUESE POLITICAL CRISIS AND ALLIED DEMARCHES

1. IT APPEARS TO US THAT MOMENTUM OF MODERATES IN PORTUGAL IS BEING LOST. DESPITE HIS PREVIOUS STRONG STATEMENTS REGARDING THE REMOVAL OF PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES, PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES APPEARS TO BE TEMPORIZING FOR REASONS UNCLEAR TO US. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE BELIEVE THAT ANY ACTIONS WESTERN COUNTRIES CAN TAKE TO STRENGTHEN HIS RESOLVE SHOULD BE TAKEN NOW.

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2. ACCORDINGLY YOU SHOULD IMMEDIATELY APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS AT HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVELS, GIVE THEM OUR VIEW OF PRESENT SITUATION, AND ASK IF THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO INSTRUCT THEIR AMBASSADORS IN LISBON TO SEE COSTA GOMES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO: (A) REITERATE EC-9 POSITION THAT ANY AID FOR PORTUGAL IS CONDITIONED ON DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM AND THAT CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR WESTERN

GOVERNMENTS TO HAVE CONFIDENCE IN FUTURE OF DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM; AND (B) SUPPORT AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI'S AUGUST 22 DEMARCHE TO COSTA GOMES, BY MAKING THEIR OWN DEMARCHES ALONG SIMILAR LINES (FOLLOWING PARA).

3. KEY TALKING POINTS USED BY AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI WITH COSTA GOMES WERE:

A. PRESENT ANALYSIS INDICATES THAT PORTUGAL TODAY IS IN THE HANDS OF A NARROWLY-BASED REPRESSIVE GROUP ENJOYING THE SUPPORT OF ONLY 20 PERCENT OF THE COUNTRY AND OPPOSED BY THE REMAINING 80 PERCENT.

B. THROUGHOUT THE WEST THE QUESTION THEREFORE IS BEING ASKED, "IS PORTUGAL REALLY DESERVING OF OUR SUPPORT? OR IS THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT SEEKING WESTERN FINANCIAL AID TO CONSTRUCT A SOCIETY MODELED ALONG TOTALITARIAN COMMUNIST LINES?"

C. SOONER OR LATER THESE SAME QUESTIONS ALSO MUST BE ASKED IN NATO WHERE THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN PORTUGAL'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE AND ITS COMMUNIST-INFLUENCED AND NARROWLY-BASED GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO BE FACED.

D. UNLESS PORTUGAL EMBARKS CLEARLY ON THE ROAD TO A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT, AND SETS FORTH A CLEAR PROGRAM TO IMPLEMENT THE ORIGINAL OBJECTIVES OF THE REVOLUTION, THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT BE ABLE TO JUSTIFY TO ITS OWN PEOPLE CONTINUED -- MUCH LESS EXPANDED -- SUPPORT FOR PORTUGAL OF ANY KIND.

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E. NOTING THE OPINIONS COSTA GOMES HAS EXPRESSED IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, WE BELIEVE THAT HE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT HIS DECISIONS CAN DETERMINE WHETHER PORTUGAL ACHIEVES ITS GOAL OF A PLURALISTIC, DEMOCRATIC KIND OF SOCIALISM.

4. YOU ALSO MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING:

A. IN SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH CARLUCCI, THE MELO ANTUNES ("MODERATE") GROUP HAS URGED THAT THE U.S. DO ALL POSSIBLE TO GET THE BRITISH, FRG AND DUTCH AMBASSADORS IN LISBON TO MAKE IMMEDIATE DEMARCHES TO COSTA GOMES SUPPORTING POINTS MADE BY CARLUCCI. MODERATES STRESSED EFFECTIVENESS OF PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING DUTCH AMBASSADOR IN LISBON.

B. AN AIDE TO COSTA GOMES HAS TOLD CARLUCCI THAT THE PRESIDENT ASKED GONCALVES TO RESIGN ON AUGUST 23. HOWEVER; AS OF LATE AUGUST 25 GONCALVES APPARENTLY WAS INSISTING HE BE MADE ARMED FORCES CHIEF OF STAFF AS COMPENSATION FOR GIVING UP PM JOB. THIS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO MODERATES WHO ACUTELY CONSCIOUS THAT CRUNCH POINT

HAS COME. THEY ARE CONVINCED ALLIED DEMARCHES WOULD STRONGLY INFLUENCE COSTA GOMES, BUT TO BE EFFECTIVE THE DEMARCHES MUST TAKE PLACE IMMEDIATELY.

C. IN RESPONDING TO COSTA GOMES' REQUEST THAT U.S. HELP WITH EVACUATION OF ANGOLA REFUGEES TO PORTUGAL AND FOLLOW-ON RESETTLEMENT COSTS, AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI TOLD COSTA GOMES U.S. WOULD HELP, BUT ONLY IF GONCALVES WERE NOT RPT NOT INVOLVED IN ANY WAY. HE SAID IT IS IMPORTANT THAT GOVERNMENT TO BE AIDED BE ONE WITH WHICH WE CAN WORK. HE ADDED THAT WE WOULD PREFER TO CHANNEL AID THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES SUCH AS ICRC, UNHCR, UNDRO AND ICEM, BUT DIRECT BILATERAL AID ALSO POSSIBLE IF NECESSARY.

5. LISBON REPORTS THAT PORTUGAL ASKED BRITAIN AND FRANCE AS WELL AS THE U.S. FOR REFUGEE AID, AND A SIMILAR

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APPROACH MAY HAVE BEEN MADE TO THE USSR. WE UNDERSTAND THAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE HAVE GIVEN SYMBOLICALLY POSITIVE RESPONSES, BUT WE HAVE NO RPT NO SPECIFICS. THERE IS NO RPT NO REPORT OF ANY SOVIET ANSWER -- IF THE USSR WAS ASKED. WE WOULD HOPE THAT ALL WESTERN ALLIES WOULD ASSIST REFUGEE EFFORT TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, CONTINGENT ON FAVORABLE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL. INGERSOLL UNQUOTE

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